

The Principia.

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The Principia

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PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound moral Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, duties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law; our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promise; our property, the whole armor of God.

EE—Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

THE BIBLE ABOLITIONIST:

Containing the Testimony of the Scriptures against Slavery, and the Scriptural method of treating it.

"To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Isa. viii. 20. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the man of God might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." 2 Tim. iii. 16-17

Part II.—Of Slavery—Its Nature and Character, as Defined and Described by the Slave States themselves.

CHAPTER III.

WORKINGS OF THE SYSTEM—CONTINUED.

Slavery annuls marriage and the family relation.—It is therefore a system of licentiousness and pollution, at war with the seventh commandment, at war with moral purity, at war with the God of Nature, the God of the Bible. The family religion is of God. "The relation of master and slave," is therefore of the Devil.

"A slave has no more legal authority over his child, than a cow has over her calf."—(Jay's Inquiry, p. 132)

When slavery existed in Connecticut a slave woman successfully claimed her freedom, on the ground that her master had consented to her marriage. Her husband claimed her, and the claim was allowed. In the Southern States, this result is avoided by the denial of power in the master to give any such consent. He can only legalize the slave's marriage, when he ceases to be a slave.

"While in a state of slavery it (marriage) cannot produce any civil effect, because slaves are deprived of all civil rights. (Opinion of Judge Matthews, case of Girod vs. Lewis, May Term, 1819. 6 Martin's Louisiana Reports, p. 359. Wheeler's Law of Slavery, p. 199. American Slave Code, p. 107.)

"A slave cannot contract matrimony, the association which takes place among slaves, and is called marriage, being properly designated by the word *contubernium*, a relation which has no sanctity, and to which no civil rights are attached." Stroud's Sketch, p. 61.

"A slave has never maintained an action against the violator of his bed. A slave is not admonished for incontinence, or punished for fornication or adultery; never prosecuted for bigamy, or petty treason for killing a husband being a slave, any more than admitted to an appeal for murder."—Opinion of Daniel Dulane, Esq., Attorney General of Maryland. 1 Maryland Reports, 561, 3. Am. Slave Code, p. 107.

"Slaves were not entitled to the conditions of matrimony, and therefore they had no relief in cases of adultery, nor were they the proper objects of coization or affinity, but of quasi-coization only."—Dr. Taylor's Element of Civil Law, p. 429.

The obligations of marriage are evidently inconsistent with the conditions of slavery, and cannot be performed by a slave. The husband promises to protect his wife and provide for her. The wife promises to be the help-meat of her husband. They mutually promise to live with and cherish

"Contubernial—from *Contubernium*—denoting a species of cohabitation."—Webster's Dictionary.

each other, till parted by death. But what can such promises by slaves mean? The "legal relation of master and slave" renders them void. It forbids the slave to protect himself. It clothes his master with authority to bid him inflict deadly blows on the woman he has sworn to protect. It prohibits his possession of any property wherewith to sustain her. His labor and his hands it takes from him. It bids the woman assist, not her husband, but her owner. Nay, it gives him unlimited control over and full possession of her own person, and forbids her, on pain of death, to resist him if he drags her to his bed. It covers the plighted pair, at the will of their master, occasionally, or forever."

This so called "legal relation of master and slave" does all this. Can Christians who reverence the Bible, believe it to be an innocent relation?

This feature of the System is not only made a practical reality by slaveholders in general, but by slaveholding Church members. And Ecclesiastical bodies have given it their sanction.

"1855, the following query relating to slaves, was propounded by the Savannah River Baptist Association of Ministers:—Whether, in case of the involuntary separation of such a character as to preclude all future intercourse, the parties may be allowed to marry again."

"ANSWER. That such a separation among persons situated as our slaves are, is, civilly, a separation, and they believe that, in the sight of God, it would be so viewed. To forbid second marriages in such cases, would be to expose the parties not only to greater hardships and stronger temptations, but to church censure for acting in obedience to their masters, who cannot be expected to acquiesce in a regulation at variance with justice to the slaves, and to the spirit of that command which regulates marriage between Christians. The slaves are not free agents, and a dissolution by death is not more entirely without their consent and beyond their control than by such separation."

Thus the Church makes void the commandment of God against adultery, for the openly avowed purpose of sustaining the usages of slavery, and conforming to the Slave Code. In the face of such facts, leading clergymen in the non-slaveholding States deny that "slavery is *malum in se*"—is in itself, sinful!

But "what saith the scriptures?" What says the Saviour?—"Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery, and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery."—Matth. v. 32.

The bitter fruits of this corrupt tree are thus described by the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky:—

The system "produces general licentiousness among the slaves. Marriage, as a civil ordinance, they CANNOT enjoy. Our laws do not recognize this relation as existing among them, and, of course, do not enforce, by any sanction, the observance of its duties. Indeed, until slavery waxeth old and tendeth to decay, there CANNOT BE any legal recognition of the marriage rite, or the enforcement of its consequent duties. For all the regulations on this subject, would limit the master's absolute right of property in the slaves. In his disposal of them he could no longer be at liberty to consult merely his own interest. He could no longer separate the wife and the husband to suit the convenience or interest of the purchaser, no matter how advantageous might be the terms offered."—Hence, all the marriages that could ever be allowed them, would be mere contracts, voidable at their master's pleasure. Their present quasi marriages are continually thus voided. They are, in this way, brought to consider their matrimonial alliances as a thing not binding, and they act accordingly. We are then assured, by the most unquestionable testimony, that licentiousness is the necessary result of our system." (Address, pp. 15, 16.)

Says the Lexington, (Ky.) Luminary.

"Chastity is no virtue among them; its violation neither injures female character in their own estimation, nor in that of their master or mistress. No instruction is ever given—no censure pronounced, I speak not of the world. I speak of Christian families, generally."

Yet female slaves in such "Christian families" without

instruction or admonition, are received into the same Churches with their masters or mistresses, and who shall say that the ignorant and therefore less culpable slaves are less fit for church-membership than their masters and mistresses, who deny them both the means of Christian instruction and the sanctities of marriage? Can such Churches be called Christian?

THE ALLEGED RIGHT OF SECESSION.

The doctrine so earnestly insisted upon by the Secessionists, that each State has a right, under the Constitution of the United States, to separate, upon its own mere motion, from the Union, and that no power of coercion as against a State, is vested in the General Government—this doctrine and the emphasis placed upon it, by the secessionists abundantly show that, with all their blustering, they lack the courage to acknowledge, even to themselves, the true character of the enterprise in which they are engaged. In the very act of aiming a deadly blow at the Federal Constitution, in the very act of repudiating it, and setting it at defiance, they seek to shield themselves from public odium and their own guilty fears by the cover of that very Constitution itself.

The Federal Constitution does not recognize the possibility that any acts of resistance to the lawful authority of the General Government, can emanate from a State. Such acts are regarded by the Federal Constitution as the acts of individuals, or of a collection of individuals combined together to resist the laws. The plea of such individuals that they are acting under authority of a State avails them nothing, because the State, by the express provision of the Federal Constitution, has no power to confer any such authority. Any pretended act passed by a State Legislature looking to disobedience of the Federal laws is absolutely null and void. It is not the act of a State Legislature but of a number of usurping individuals, who, in transcending the authority which they can lawfully exercise, have divested themselves of their legislative character. The employment of an armed force, should such a procedure be thought expedient, to put down such a combination for resisting the laws is an authority expressly conferred upon the President. Will anybody pretend that when Washington marched fifteen thousand men into Western Pennsylvania, to enforce the collection of the tax on whisky distillers, he transcended the powers conferred upon him by the Constitution and the laws enacted under it? Should the people of South Carolina, or any considerable portion of them, undertake in like manner to resist the collection of the revenue, or, in imitation of the whisky rebels, to stop the United States mails, would it not be equally the right and the duty of the President of the United States to do what Washington did, to employ a sufficient military and naval force to put a stop to this resistance to the laws?

It is in vain for the Secessionists to attempt to shift off the responsibilities of their position. Treason is an ugly and uncomfortable word, but those who undertake treason must learn not to be afraid of the name. The very fact that the Secessionists shrink from the name of traitors, affords strong grounds for believing that the greater part of them, when the thing comes to the test, will shrink from the act.—N. Y. Tribune.

Yet this same Federal Government, with all these ample powers, has (according to Democratic theories and Republican concessions,) no power to prevent a State from reducing citizens of the United States to chattels! Though "the Constitution does not recognize the possibility that any acts of resistance to the lawful authority of the General Government can emanate from a State," yet the Constitution, it is held, does recognize the possibility that authority to enslave any or all the Federal citizens within the limits of a State, may emanate from a State Government! The State Government may not authorize resistance to the lawful authority of the General Government, but it may authorize the banding of the Federal Government, so far as the State is concerned, by depriving it of its citizens, by enslaving them. Here is a way in which a right of secession, according to prevailing theories and concessions, may be exercised by slave states—if a State, in distinction from the people is to be recognized.

Short of positively enslaving Federal citizens, the claim

may be "alleged" and exercised, if the prevailing theories and concessions, are admissible. For if the Federal Government has no power to protect Federal citizens against State usurpation and aggression within the limits of a State (as it cannot have, if it has no right to define who are Federal citizens, and to protect them from enslavement), then, of course, it follows that the Federal Government has no authority within a State, that a State Government cannot overthrow.

The truth is, the alleged "State right" to authorize and maintain slavery, includes and embraces the alleged State right of secession. And so long as the Tribune, Mr. Lincoln, and Republicans, concede to the slaveholders, the State right of maintaining slavery, under the Constitution, so long will the South Carolina seceders have the best of the argument.

Suppose "a pretended act of the State Legislature" of Pennsylvania, had authorized resistance to the collection of the Federal taxes on whisky, The Tribune's argument goes to justify Washington, had he "marched an army of fifteen thousand men" to put down the insurgents, including the members of the State Legislature themselves, as "usurping individuals" whose acts of pretended legislation were "absolutely null and void."

Very good. But suppose that, instead of authorizing resistance to the collection of the whisky tax, the "usurping individuals" above mentioned, had proceeded still further. Suppose they had assumed to authorize the enslavement of a majority of the citizens of the United States in Pennsylvania, by a minority of them, as is now done in South Carolina, "will anybody pretend that" if Washington had marched those fifteen thousand men into Pennsylvania to protect those Federal citizens, he would have "transcended the powers conferred on him by the Constitution, and the laws enacted under it," for the purpose?

Is the collection of a whisky tax a more sacred and clearly defined Constitutional duty, than the protection of Federal citizens from enslavement? Could not the Government better spare its tax than its citizens?

From the Independent.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

BY MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

We think no state paper, so remarkable, has ever appeared, from a chief Executive in this country—perhaps in any other country.

The cool, decisive manner with which the President, all through a certain portion, identifies himself with the Southern States, and speaks with perfect naivete from their point of view, is the first striking feature.

The coolness with which he turns round upon the Northern States, and charges upon them the whole guilt and responsibility of the extravaganzas now going on in the South, is another feature.

The coolness with which, from first to last, he ignores the existence of any moral and religious sense, as forming any component element in regulating national movements, is another, and very striking one. "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God," said David, in his time. David had not seen the bottom of atheism. The fool he speaks of had, it seems, raised the question. It had occurred to him as a possibility. It was left for the XIXth century to show a specimen of a state paper, proposing to a Christian nation to become, more formally than ever they had been before, robbers, kidnappers, and pirates—without betraying through a line that a God had ever been heard of in America—unless it be in certain customary rhetorical phrases at the close.

The South is all in an uproar, he tells us—they cannot sleep nights for fear of servile insurrection, and of course somebody is to blame for this, and something must be done. Who is to blame?

There are four million men and women—some of them black, and some of them white—whom the Southern law, systematically, and with logical accuracy not to be misunderstood, has stripped even of the name of human beings, and declared not persons but things;—they cannot sue or be sued—they cannot buy or sell—they cannot own a foot of land—they cannot form a legal marriage—they cannot own or educate their own children—their family loves are all accidents of bargain and sale—they cannot learn to read

or write—they cannot raise a hand against the will of any white person, who may choose to insult or dishonor themselves or wives or children, on pain of death:—and yet, among this mass of struggling, repressed human life, are multitudes of men, more vigorous physically than their masters, with all the energy given by the constant habit of work, with all the fire and pride which comes from being born of white fathers; and thus repressed, the South herself is constantly tampering with and stimulating them to insurrection.

What are these madmen now doing, as they sit on their powder-magazine and fire hot shot to right and left?

In the theatres of South Carolina, they are singing, in the ears of an impressible nervous people, who are quick to catch both tune and words, that furious Marseillaise, which seems to breathe the very roar of a wild and angry mob of barbarians. They forget who listens while they sing:

"Oh Liberty can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy generous flame!
Can dungeon bolts or bars confine thee,
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?"

Is it credible that these words can be allowed to go ringing and echoing in the ears of plantation slaves? and then is the North coolly to be told in state papers that the South cannot sleep for fear of servile insurrections, and that it is her agitation on Liberty that is the reason!

It is not the fault of the South; no. It is not the laws which forbid marriage which agitate; it is not the reading of families which agitates; it is not exposing four million human beings without legal protection to any insult which four million others may devise, that agitates; it is not forbidding education and improvement which agitates; it is not the having a class of white sons and daughters in their houses whose talents and beauty are marketable, and who, with all the pride of their masters are exposed to all the insults of the slave: it is not this that agitates!

It is not that with all this outraged, struggling, abused mass around, they go round roaring the Marseillaise in their ears, and advertise them in public speeches and private conversation that Lincoln's election is likely to break their chains, (we wish it were.) It is not the murderous, brutal barbarism which tars and feathers, burns alive, hangs up without judge or jury, and afterwards tries, which causes excitement. No; none of these tend to servile insurrection—not a bit of it—it's the North; the wicked, truculent, horrid North, who are constantly declaring things they have no business to, in sermons, magazines, poems, and speeches.

The North keeps expressing an opinion on such delicate points as adultery, robbery, piracy, kidnapping. They are not convinced yet, and don't seem likely to be, that these are reputable courses. The North will hold that a man is a man—that all men were created free and equal, and have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The North holds that it is wicked to forbid marriage to a whole community; that men ought to have rights to their wives; that it is a shame to sell children from their parent's arms; that it is a greater shame for a man to sell his own sons and daughters. They have these opinions, in common with all civilized nations, and mean to act upon them—and the President thinks it is the defending of such ideas as these has made all the difficulty.

The remedy he proposes is quite as remarkable. He says: "After all, the Constitution gives only such an ambiguous foothold to this state of things, that it is impossible to convince the majority of the North that it supports them at all. The way to do is to alter the Constitution of the United States so as fully, freely, and clearly to admit and legalize slavery, and agitation will cease."

Agitation cease! It reminds us of an anecdote of an old black slave-woman calling herself "Sojourner Truth," who sat in the front ranks once in an Abolition meeting, when Frederick Douglass, fired with the wrongs of his race, and the despairs of the white race, declared that there was neither hope nor help for the slave but in their own right arms.

In the pause that followed this appeal, Sojourner lifted her dark face, working with intense feeling, and said in a low, deep voice, which was heard in every corner of the room.

"Frederick, is God dead?"

Let that old black slave-woman's question ring through this nation, as then it rang through Faneuil Hall. To all who hope or dream to put down agitation by a covenant with death and an agreement with hell, old Africa rises, and raising her poor maimed, scarred hand to heaven, asks us—

"Is God Dead?"

• This was the utterance of a sublime Christian faith, high above all the deductions of ratiocination, or mere human reason, which looks on outward appearances only, and depends on calculations of results. God, may, in reproof and punishment of our unbelief, distrust, and imbecility, permit the problem of deliverance to be worked out in blood. But if he does, it will only confirm, instead of refuting the maxim of divine wisdom, "according to your faith be it unto you."—Give us but seven thousand men, with the faith of "Sojourner Truth" and not many months would intervene before politicians evap, would discover the peaceful solution of our national problem.—EDITOR PRINCIPIA.

LOUISIANA.

THANKSGIVING SERMON.

Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, New-Orleans, on Thursday, November 29, by the Rev. B. M. Palmer, D.D.

[EXTRACTS.]

DUTY OF THE SOUTH.

The country is convulsed simply because "the throne of iniquity frameth mischief by a law." Without, therefore, determining the question of duty for future generations, I simply say, that for us, as now situated, the duty is plain, of conserving and transmitting the system of slavery, with the freest scope for its natural development and extension. Let us, my brethren, look our duty in the face. With this institution assigned to our keeping, what reply shall we make to those who say that its days are numbered? My own conviction is, that we should at once lift ourselves, intelligently, to the highest moral ground and proclaim to all the world that we hold this trust from God, and in its occupancy we are prepared to stand or fall as God may appoint. If the critical moment has arrived at which the great issue is joined, let us say that, in the sight of all perils, we will stand by our trust; and God be with the right!

CONDITION OF THE NORTH.

The so called Free States of this country are working out the social problem under conditions peculiar to themselves. The conditions are sufficiently hard, and their success is too uncertain, to excite in us the least jealousy of their lot. With a teeming population, which the soil cannot support—with their wealth depending upon arts, created by artificial wants—with an eternal friction between the grades of their society—with their labor and their capital grinding against each other like the upper and neither mill-stones—with labor cheapened and displaced by new mechanical inventions, bursting more assunder the bonds of brotherhood; amid these intricate perils we have ever given them our sympathy and our prayers, and have never sought to weaken the foundations of their social order. God grant them complete success in the solution of all their perplexities. We, too, have our responsibilities and trials; but they are all bound up in this one institution, which has been the object of such unrighteous assault through fire and twenty years. If we are true to ourselves we shall, at this critical juncture, stand by it and work out our destiny.

SLAVERY THE CAUSE OF GOD.

Last of all, in this great struggle, we defend the cause of God and religion. The Abolition spirit is undeniably atheistic. The demon which erected its throne upon the guillotine in the days of Robespierre and Marat, which abolished the Sabbath and worshipped reason in the person of a harlot, yet survives to work other horrors, of which those of the French revolution are but the type. Among a people so generally religious as the American, a disguise must be worn; but it is the same old threadbare disguise of the advocacy of human rights. From a thousand Jacobin clubs here, as in France, the decree has gone forth which strikes at God, by striking at all subordination and law. Availing itself of the morbid and misdirected sympathies of men, it has entrapped weak consciences in the meshes of its treachery; and now, at last, has seated its high priest upon the throne, clad in the black garments of discord and schism, so symbolic of its ends. Under this specious cry of reform, it demands that every evil shall be corrected, or society become a wreck—the sun must be stricken from the heavens if a spot is found upon his disc. The Most High, knowing His own power, which is infinite, and His own wisdom, which is unfathomable, can afford to be patient. But these self-constituted reformers must quicken the activity of Jehovah, or compel his abdication. In their furious haste they trample upon obligations sacred as any which can bind the conscience.

• • • This spirit of atheism, which knows no God who tolerates evil, no Bible which sanctions law, and no conscience that can be bound by oaths and covenants has selected us for its victims, and Slavery for its issue. Its banner-cry rings out already upon the air—"liberty, equality, fraternity," which simply interpreted mean bondage, confiscation and massacre. With its tricolor waving in the breeze—it waits to inaugurate its reign of terror. To the South the high position is assigned of defending, before all nations, the cause of all religion and of all truth. In this trust, we are resisting the power, which wars against Constitutions and laws and compacts, against Sabbaths and sanctuaries, against the family, the state, and the church; which blasphemously invades the prerogatives of God, and rebukes the Most High for the errors of his administration; which if it cannot snatch the veins of empire from His grasp, will lay the universe in ruins at His feet. Is it possible that we shall decline the onset?

THE PRESENT EMERGENCY.

Against this institution, a system of aggression has been pursued through the last thirty years. Initiated by a few fanatics, who were at first despised, it has gathered strength from opposition until it has assumed its present gigantic proportions. No man has thoughtfully watched the progress of this controversy without being convinced that the crisis must at length come. Some few, perhaps, have hoped against hope, that the gathering imposthume might be dispersed, and the poison be eliminated from the body

politic by healthful remedies. But the delusion has scarcely been cherished by those who have studied the history of fanaticism in its path of blood and fire through the ages of the past. The moment must arrive when the conflict must be joined, and victory decide for one or the other. And it has been a war of legislative tactics, and not of physical force, both parties have been manoeuvring for a position; and the embarrassment has been, while dodging amid constitutional forms, to make an issue that should be clear, simple, and tangible. Such an issue is at length presented in the result of the recent Presidential election.

HOW TO MEET IT.

As it appears to me, the course to be pursued in this emergency is that which has already been inaugurated. Let the people in all the Southern States in solemn council assembled, reclaim the powers they have delegated. Let these Conventions be composed of men whose fidelity has been approved—men who bring the wisdom, experience, and firmness of the age to support and announce principles which have long been matured. Let these Conventions decide firmly and solemnly what they will do with this great trust committed to their hands. Let them pledge each other in sacred covenant to uphold and perpetuate what they can not resign without dishonor and palpable ruin. Let them further, take all the necessary steps looking to separate and independent existence; and initiate measures for framing a new and homogeneous confederacy. Thus prepared for every contingency, let the crisis come. Paradoxical as it may seem, if there be any way to save, or rather reconstruct the Union of our forefathers, it is this.

Perhaps, at the last moment, the conservative portions of the North may awake to see the abyss into which they are about to plunge. Perchance they may arise and crush out, for ever, the Abolition hydra, and cast it into a grave from which there shall never be a resurrection.

Thus, with restored confidence, we may be rejoined a united and happy people. But, before God, I believe that nothing will effect this but the line of policy which the South has been compelled in self-preservation to adopt. I confess frankly I am not sanguine that such an auspicious result will be reached. Partly, because I do not see how new guarantees are to be grafted upon the Constitution, nor how, if grafted, they can be more binding than those which have already been trampled under foot; but chiefly because I do not see how such guarantees can be elicited from the people at the North. It cannot be disguised that, almost to a man, they are Anti-Slavery, where they are not Abolition. A whole generation has been educated to look upon the system with abhorrence, as a national blot. They hope, and look, and pray for its extinction within a reasonable time, and cannot be satisfied unless things are seen drawing to that conclusion. We, on the contrary, as its constituted guardian, can demand nothing less than that it should be left open to expansion, subject to no limitations save those imposed by God and nature. I fear the antagonism is too great, and the conscience of both parties too deeply implicated to allow such a composition of the strife. Nevertheless, since it is within the range of possibility in the providence of God, I would not shut out the alternative.

Should it fail, what remains but what we say to each other, calmly and kindly, as Abraham said to Lot: "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me; if thou wilt take the left hand, then will I go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand then will I go to the left." Thus, if we cannot save the inestimable blessings it enshrines, if we cannot preserve the vase, we will preserve the precious liquor it contains.

In all this I speak for the North no less than for the South; for on our united and determined resistance at this moment depends the salvation of the whole country—in saving ourselves we shall save the North from the ruin she is madly drawing down upon her own head.

The position of the South is at this moment, sublime. If she has grace given her to know her hour, she will save herself, the country, and the world. It will involve, indeed, temporary prostration and distress; the dykes of Holland must be cut to save her from the troops of Philip. But I warn my countrymen, the historic moment once passed, never returns. If she will arise in her majesty, as I speak now, as with the voice of one man, she will roll back for all time, the curse that is upon her. If she succumbs now, she transmits that curse as an heirloom to posterity.

WHAT IS MEANT.

The Hon. A. H. Handy, a Commissioner from the State of Mississippi to visit Maryland, addressed the citizens of Baltimore on Wednesday evening on the subject of his mission. He reached, at length, in his speech, a positive point, and said:

"The only available remedy for our oppression, which the State of Mississippi can suggest is that each State shall secede from the Union."

A stormy scene followed this declaration. The speaker was assailed by a storm of hisses, met, when they subsided, by a storm of applause. The hisses, however, evidently

were in the ascendency, and there seemed a violent probability that the meeting would break up in a general row. Attention, however, was presently concentrated upon one unfortunate individual who was designated as a "Black Republican," and a new turn given to affairs by the pleasant distraction of hustling the scape-goat out of the hall. Mr. Handy was then permitted to proceed, and taking a hint from the reception which had already been accorded to the Secession doctrine, he seems to have thought it best to be candid, and before he sat down stated what secession really means. We quote:

"Secession is not intended to break up the present Government, but to perpetuate it. We do not propose to go out by way of breaking up or destroying the Union as our fathers gave it to us, but we go out for the purpose of getting further guarantees and security for our rights—not by a Convention of all the Southern States, nor by Congressional tricks, which have failed in times past and will fail again. But our plan is for the Southern States to withdraw from the Union, for the present, to allow amendments to the Constitution to be made, guaranteeing our just rights, and if the Northern States will not make those amendments, by which these rights shall be secured to us, then we must secure them the best way we can. This question of Slavery must be settled now or never. The country has been agitated seriously by it for the past twenty or thirty years. It has been a festering sore upon the body politic, and many remedies having failed, we must try amputation, to bring it to a healthy state. We must have amendments to the Constitution, and if we cannot get them, we must set up for ourselves."

It is the old story over again. It is the North which is to be coerced, as she has often been before by threats of disunion, and not the South. There are two points, however, to be considered: first, how far can secession go? and, second, if it should happen to be successful, is it not just possible that the North may feel disposed not to go over the ground a second time, even for the sake of bringing the seceders back again?—*Tribune*.

WHAT HAS FAILED?

It is instructive to see the change in those venal and vicious prints which a few months ago were so clamorous in their zeal for the support of the constitution, the execution of the laws, nothing was so sacred as the constitution, nothing so absolute as the laws of the United States, nothing so precious as the Union.

But now they do their best to cheer on the traitors who threaten open war upon the government; they anticipate the direct evils from any attempt to execute the laws, and they instantly demand of the man whom the people have chosen for their President a pledge in advance of his inaugural oath, not to make his office a terror to evildoers.

At the same time they insist that the constitution of the country, devised by our fathers and lauded throughout the world as the wisest frame of government ever made by man, has become *effete* and inadequate, and that it must be patched and tinkered by such wise men as Brooks, O'Connor, and the valient Lathers to keep it in being. These men, in a word, are trying to convince the world that our federal system of government is a failure. They proclaim it to mankind that this great republic, in the midst of an unexampled prosperity and glory, is on the brink of utter ruin.

When we look at the condition of our affairs at Washington and in the South, it seems very clear, indeed, that something has failed: but what is it?

In the first place, James Buchanan has failed, most ignominiously, through sheer incapacity, moral and mental, to administer the government according to the constitution. He has collapsed completely, and it would be a great relief to the country if he could be got out of the way, at once. But the country is strong enough to carry the load till the 4th of March, when he will make his exit into private disgrace.

In the second place, the combination of demagoguism, conservatism and scoundrelism in New York, which lately aimed at grasping the government of the country, has signally failed. So many of its instruments have fled from justice, so many are now receiving justice, so many have destroyed the influence they once had, by their violence, and so many are manifestly training for the traitor's halter, that, as a conspiracy, it has lost its terror, and when it loses the run of the Custom-house and Postoffice and Navy Yard, will soon be wiped from the face of the earth.

A third thing that has signally failed is the political organization lately known as the democratic party. A few years ago its prestige seemed unassailable, its resources incalculable, and its power invincible. But having sold itself, to the great slaveholding interest of the South, it destroyed its character, drove away its best friends, and was in the end wholly disintegrated and dissolved. Its failure is complete and final.

Finally, the grand conspiracy of slaveholders and their satellites has failed of its object, which was to keep the government of this great republic under the absolute control of

an oligarchy through the power of political machinery, by fomenting groundless divisions at the North, and by personal intimidation and threats. These things have failed; but the government of the United States has not failed, and will not fail; the inextinguishable love of liberty will not fail; the good sense, the reason, the sense of justice of the people will not fail; the productiveness of nature will not fail; the energy of industry will not fail; and the goodness of the Divine Providence will never fail.—*N. Y. Evening Post*

WHERE WILL THE WESTERN PRODUCE GO.

To The Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: Have you ever asked yourself this question? In case of peaceable secession of Louisiana and Mississippi, where will the immense exports and trade of the West that now descends the Mississippi go?

It will of course take the route to New York City, and increase New York threefold her present greatness and prosperity.

If there is any doubt about it, let the Legislature that meets in a few days abolish the toll, next year, on the Erie Canal.

That will benefit New-York City tens of millions. All the grain of the West, and of Canada too, will come here to find a market.

In fact, if retaliation upon Louisiana was desirable, all this State has to do is, to abolish the Erie Canal tolls. It would ruin New-Orleans.

GRAIN TRADE.

New York Dec. 20, 1860.—*Tribune*.

G. A. MUSKETS FOR THE SOUTH.

Several days since, five hundred boxes of muskets were brought down from the United States Arsenal at Waterloot, opposite Troy, and one-half of them, five thousand muskets, were put on board the Florida for Savannah, and the other five thousand were shipped by the Nashville for Charleston. The Florida met with an accident when ten hours out, and her freight was subsequently taken by the Alabama. We are informed that an additional five thousand have been sent to Alabama from the same place within a week past.

These muskets are stated to be the supply allowed by the General Government to the State militia of Georgia and South Carolina respectively, and that the Governors of those States several months since requested that these arms should be forwarded.

Taken in connection with the fact that the President refuses to reinforce the garrison at Fort Moultrie, this proceeding, which puts arms into the hands of the enemies of the Union, is at least very suspicious. If these were part of the supply voted to South Carolina, what becomes of the 73,000 stand of arms in the arsenal at Charleston, from which we have heretofore been told the quota of South Carolina and the surrounding States was to be drawn? The more probable supposition is that this is only part of the scheme concocted between our model President and his beautiful Secretary of War, to put as many arms within reach of the secessionists as possible.—*Id.*

THE LAST CRASH.—The Secession of South Carolina has not appalled nor seriously disturbed the country; but the gigantic fraud in the Department of the Interior has astonished and electrified it. The people were already resigned to see the Federal Treasury emptied, the Federal Finances ruined, and the Public Credit destroyed, by those whom Slavery was Providentially permitted for our sins to inflict upon us four years since as our National rulers; but that great Public Trustee had been systematically betrayed and the securities of helpless tribes plundered to the extent of nearly a Million of Dollars to bolster up the desperate fortunes of bankrupt stock-gamblers high in office, is a most astounding and unwelcome revelation. But when Treason riots in the high places of the land, why should we not expect other felonies to flourish in the rank soil which supplies nourishment to this? When officers on the quarter-deck and at the helm are plainly conspiring to run the ship of State on the breakers, it is really strange that other miscreants should be at the work of plunder in her plate-chest and store-room? In this heyday of misrule, how can one crime more or less permanently fix the general attention?—*Id.*

AFRAY AND MURDER.—About four or five o'clock yesterday afternoon, a party of drunken men engaged in a fight, in a tenement house known as the "Barracks," in South Fifth, near First street, Brooklyn, E. D. During the affray, Joseph O'Neil and John Kennedy were stabbed by Lewis Hurch. O'Neil died soon after the infliction of the wound, and Kennedy is badly injured. Hurch was arrested. Coroner Murphy was notified, and will hold an inquest.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1860.

THE LIFTING UP OF THE CLOUDS—GLIMPSES AT WHAT LIES BENEATH THEM

The clouds of smoke and dust that, for several weeks past, have rested upon the political horizon have begun to lift, a little, at intervals, sufficiently to afford some casual glimpses of the various objects that have been concealed beneath them. Though some things still continue to be shrouded in mists of obscurity, there are others that begin to take on form and acquire distinctness of outline. Of these we may now venture to say a few things.

I. THE OBJECT OF THE SECESSION MOVEMENT.—This is not, and has not been, any desire or intention of a permanent separation of the seceding States from the Union. With exception, perhaps, of a few thoughtless zealots, of no great weight in the counsels of the secessionists, nothing has been farther from their intentions or expectations than any thing of the kind. The plan, the object, and the expectation centered in this programme of operations. By actually seceding, it is expected to work upon the cupidity, the fears, and the perverted patriotism of the Northern people, and thus procure from them some further concessions in favor of slavery, as a condition of the re-construction of the dismembered fragments of the Union on a basis which shall secure all that slaveholders have ever claimed, all that they have ever desired.

Not a word has been whispered from the secessionists or from their Northern sympathizers, looking at all in the direction of any concession on the part of the pro-slavery extremists, any relaxation of their extravagant claims, any relinquishment of their flagrant and unconstitutional aggressions, any cessation of their outrages upon Northern citizens, any apologies for the past, any security or even promises for the future. On the other hand, the North is called upon to give up everything, and allow slavery full scope, in every direction. The finality of Judge Taney's opinion in the case of Dred Scott, the right to carry slaves into the Territories and to be protected in holding them there, the right to recover fugitive slaves, under the fugitive slave bill, as it now stands, or under severer penalties, the right of transit in carrying slaves through the free States, the right of sojourn in the free States with slave servants, and even, in reality, the right of slaveholding under Federal protection, in all the States of the Union; in other words, the right of establishing slavery in all the States, and consequently, the right to put an end to freedom of speech and of the press, against slavery, at the North as well as at the South. The complaint that the Northern press and the Northern pulpit, to a limited extent—alas! how limited! stigmatizes slavery and slave holding as sinful, has been made and is still made quite a prominent item in the list of grievances to be redressed, before the seceding States can consent to come again into the Federal Union. The repeal of all our Personal Liberty bills of all shades, so as to leave the Southern kidnappers at perfect liberty to seize and abduct whomsoever they please, bond or free, black or white (for the Fugitive Slave bill, like the Constitution, says nothing of slaves, or of race or color) is among the most prominent of the Southern demands, and—strange to tell, the very one which, from present appearances seems most likely to be conceded by the North, so far as the present action of politicians of all parties, are concerned.

And this introduces us to a second glimpse at the things that begin to be most clearly discerned.

II. THE PROBABLE COURSE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND OF THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION, IN RESPECT TO THESE PRO-SLAVERY DEMANDS.—Much has been said, pro and con, in respect to this topic. Sometimes the leading journals of the party appear to have some back bone, and to cry out against "compromises" in a tone that almost encourages one to hope that they are in earnest. Again, at other times, the exhortation to moderation, forbearance and conciliation, are calculated to give the reader quite the contrary impression. We have been puzzled with the seeming discrepancy, for some time; and have been studying the phenomenon with as much attention as we have been able

to bestow upon it. The results of our investigations and reflections are these.

There is just one thing that the Republican leaders are inflexibly determined not to yield. They will in no contingency, nor for any consideration, relinquish their Constitutional rights to inaugurate the President elect, on the fourth of March. They have worked hard, expended much, and have warmed themselves into almost all shapes to catch and group together in the same ballot boxes a sufficient number of pro-slavery and anti-slavery votes to secure the election of their candidates. With no small wear and tear of self-respect and of conscience, they have gained their object. They have won the game and are entitled to the stakes. And they have no idea of being wheedled or frightened out of the posts of honor and profit belonging to them. Not they! They have too much regard to the will of the sovereign people and to the supremacy of the Constitution, in this case, to allow the prize to slip out of their fingers, at the last. Mr. Lincoln is to be inaugurated in some way, by hook or crook, cost what it may.

With equal unanimity, too, they are opposed to allowing the Constitutional right of the slave States to secede. On this point, they argue with all Presidents of the United States, when in office, not excepting Mr. Buchanan. What they will do to prevent secession does not clearly appear, nor whether they will do otherwise than follow the lead of Mr. Buchanan in that matter.

Beyond these points, we are unable, as yet, to discern any clear indications that the incoming administration is likely to take any definite stand against the claims of the slave power. They only point us to their ambiguous Chicago platform, bidding us decypher it as we best may, and to the by-gone utterances of Mr. Lincoln, consisting chiefly of disclaimers of any intention to commit aggressions on the rights (!) of slaveholders. On one point, the Republican Representatives in Congress, with exception of fourteen members, have taken a downward step, and bowed down lower to the slave power than any political party had, in that direction, before done. Whigs, Democrats, and Republicans had united in passing Personal Liberty bills, to prevent the kidnapping of the free, under the pretense of their being slaves. Petitions to the Legislature of New York last Winter, for the most Radical Personal Liberty bill in the power of abolitionists to draw up, were numerous and eagerly signed, and by quite as many Democrats as Republicans. And when the failure of the Legislature to pass such a bill became known, the petitioners were quieted with assurances that it was only because the pending Presidential election rendered it impolitic to do anything until a Republican administration of the Federal Government should be first secured, so that there might be no conflict between the State and National authorities. After the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, and the publication of his debates with Mr. Douglas, in which he had expressed himself in favor of some law of the rendition of fugitive slaves, had put a damper upon these assurances, it was still pleaded that the repeal of the fugitive slave bill was of little consequence, as it could be rendered inoperative by the legislation of the States. But now, all the Republican Representatives in Congress except fourteen, have joined with the slaveholders and their confederates in recommending the repeal of the Personal liberty bills that have been passed by the States. Immediately upon the heels of this vote, another vote of the House, with but forty-four dissenting votes, assented to the safety of inaugurating Mr. Lincoln, a vote evidently obtained in return for the Republican vote against Personal liberty bills!

And the Republican Representatives who thus voted, were well aware (for the fact had been stated by some of them, and those Republican journals had been calling attention to it), that all those Personal liberty bills were framed, solely, to prevent the kidnapping of the free—not to prevent the rendition of slaves, with the single exception of the law of Vermont.

So that the Congressional ticket for the admission of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidential chair, was purchased by the recommendation to the States to surrender the most important of their "State rights"—the right of protecting their own free citizens from being kidnapped into slavery. As though it were not sufficiently humiliating for a free State to permit a judicial inquiry into the question whether some of its inhabitants were not slaves, the majority of the Republican members recommended that the citizens of the free States, including, of course, themselves, should have no legal protection, by the

State or the Nation, from being reduced to chattel slavery, at the *ipse dixit* of a kidnapper, and a bribed commissioner!

We say this, because every one who has read the fugitive slave bill, well knows that it provides no legal securities for the protection of any one seized under it; and that it makes no discrimination between a black man and a white man, (though whites have sometimes been seized,) and, like the Constitution itself, says nothing of slaves, leaving each of the Representatives themselves, no legal protection, if seized.

If their constituents can bear of all this, without indignation, they will come nearer to *deserving* enslavement themselves, on the ground of their being servile, and just fitted the condition, than the black slaves of the South! Such indeed, is, at this moment, the position of those representatives themselves! We deliberately pronounce it the deepest degradation to which the non-slaveholding States have ever yet been reduced. And into this degradation they have been plunged, by the professed champions of their rights, and as the price of the consent of the slaveholders to the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, who was elected to put a stop to the rule of the slave power, before which their representatives have thus prostrated themselves. The "white man's party," *par excellence*, in the persons of their representatives, have voted to place their legal safe-guards upon a par with that of the slaves!

The lifting of the cloud has given us a glimpse of this sight. But, thank God, it has given us a glimpse at another sight, more pleasing and hopeful. It has disclosed,

III. THE STRAITS TO WHICH THE SLAVEHOLDERS ARE DRIVEN—THEIR SOLE GROUND OF HOPE.—The confession has been extorted from them that slavery cannot continue to exist, under a faithful administration of the Constitution as it is!—that the Constitution is anti-slavery, and must be exchanged for a pro-slavery Constitution, as the condition of their returning into the Union, or remaining in it.

The pretended "compromises of the Constitution," and of its "guarantees of slavery" have had their day. "A very large proportion of the people of the United States," says the President's Message, cannot be made to believe in them, and therefore a new Constitution, so far as slavery is concerned, must be substituted in its place. The authority of the Supreme Court, in the case of Dred Scott, has indeed pronounced the Constitution to be pro-slavery, but the people are not satisfied. The President in his Kansas Message, likewise affirmed it. But still the people are not satisfied. The truth is, the President knows better himself. And so do the slaveholders. With united voice they chime in, and clamor for an amended Constitution that shall protect slavery. A President has been elected, by the votes of men who do not believe in the Dred Scott decision, nor in the President's Kansas Message—do not believe that the Constitution carries slavery with it into the Territories. President Buchanan and the slaveholders know that (whatever the Republicans may believe, or profess to believe, or whatever they may disclaim believing or intending,) if the Constitution does not protect slavery in the Territories, and in all the States, then it protects slavery in none of the States; and that, if it does not protect it, then it forbids it. They know that the people are in process of learning all this—and they cannot be persuaded that the Republican leaders—notwithstanding their disclaimers—are so verdant as not to have learned it themselves. The President, his Cabinet, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Senators and Representatives of the last Congress, were each supplied with a copy of Spooner's Unconstitutionality of Slavery, and with "Our National Charters.*" For the most part, especially by the slaveholders, they have doubtless been studied. And now we have the verdict in their case.

The Constitution as it is, will not do for slaveholders and slaves to live under. Therefore South Carolina secedes, and other States threaten to secede—not expecting nor desiring to stay out of the Union, but desiring and expecting to get the Constitution changed for a pro-slavery one.

This is the philosophy of the whole movement. This is the programme now enacting before us. The scheme was well-matched, before hand. The conspiracy was extensive, North and South. The President's Message was to sound the key note, and all the rest were to re-echo it. It has been done.

Of some other things we seem to be catching half glimpses, but must wait the further lifting of the clouds. Let all say

* "Our National Charters" has lately been sent to the new members of the present Congress, and to the President elect.

best friends of freedom be on the look out, in the use of the best telescopes they can command.

And let them keep before the people the great event of the day, to wit, that the chieftains of the slave power, with President Buchanan for their first spokesman, and seconding him with their responsive echoes, have proclaimed to the world, in shrieks of despairing agony, that the Federal Constitution is against them.

RUMORS—EXCITEMENTS—SENSATION PARAGRAPHS.

We are at a loss what to announce as news to our readers. We do the best, we can to distinguish facts from fiction, but sometimes get humbugged, after all. Last week we were led to announce in a Postscript, the adoption of the South Carolina ordinance of secession, along with the delivery of the U. S. State arms at Charleston to the City authorities, and instructions from President Buchanan to the Commander at Fort Moultrie to surrender. All except the first item seems to have been premature, so far as yet ascertained. Within the past week, our City Dailies have been all alive with announcements, predictions and rumors, as uncertain as any village gossip ever satirized. The President elect is said to have invited Mr. Bates and Mr. Willmot to his Cabinet. President Buchanan has been reported to be insane (that is, unusually so), has been said to be about to resign (as he ought to have done, long ago,) and to have been threatened with assassination, in case he should interpose against secession—all which may be within the limits of probability, but "wants confirmation." Then we have predictions of a general revival of old fashioned mob operations against abolitionists—predictions of a general prostration of business throughout the country—predictions of servile insurrections and civil war—predictions that there will be a general Southern rally at the seat of Government, on the 4th of March, to prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, &c., &c.—of all which we can only say—wait and see.

That we are on the eve of great events, we have no doubt but the precise shape of them, no man can tell. If God intends to preserve the liberties of the American people, He will probably give them no rest, till they liberate the enslaved.

DR. PALMER'S DISCOURSE.—If any one wishes to see and appreciate "the irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery, between Christ and Beliel, in the American Church, let him read the extracts from the speech of Rev. Dr. Palmer, of New Orleans, in this paper. Any attempt to find a solid foothold on any middle ground between that discourse and radical abolitionism, will be found as futile in ecclesiastics as in politics. Equally futile will be all attempts to compound or patch up these differences by compromise.

DISCUSSIONS ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT, IN WILLIAMSBURG.—On Wednesday evening last, the discussions were continued, on the question, "On whom do the responsibilities of civil government rest?" A further discussion of the same question will be continued next Wednesday evening at the same place, viz: Rev. S. S. Jocelyn's Church, corner of South 3d and 11th Streets.

News of the Day.

FORMAL SECESSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA. THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION PASSED.

The South Carolina Convention Dec. 20, passed the ordinance of secession, by a unanimous vote:

The document reads as follows:

An Ordinance to Dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and the other States united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America:

We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying the amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and

other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.

One hundred and sixty-nine members voted in favor of the ordinance; none against.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION.

DECLARATION OF CAUSES.

FIFTH DAY.

In the South Carolina Convention, yesterday, the form of oath prescribed in the fourth article of the State Constitution was amended to read as follows, the vote on its adoption being unanimous:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear faithful and true allegiance to South Carolina, so long as I may continue a citizen thereof, and that I am duly qualified, according to the Constitution of this State, to exercise the office to which I have been appointed, and will, to the best of my ability, discharge the duty of the office, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of this State. So help me God."

The following declaration of causes justifying the secession of the State was also adopted unanimously.

DECLARATION OF CAUSES.

"The State of South Carolina, having determined to resume a separate and equal rank among nations, deems it due to herself and the remaining United States of America and the nations of the world that she should declare the causes which led to the act. In 1765 that portion of the British empire embracing Great Britain, undertook to make law for the government of the American colonists. A struggle for the right of self-government ensued, which resulted on the 4th of July, 1776, in a declaration by the colonies that they are, and of right ought to be free and independent States, and that as free and independent States they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do such things as independent States have the right to do. They further solemnly declared that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the established right of the people to alter and abolish it, and institute a new government. Deeming that the government of Great Britain had become destructive of these ends, and they declared the colonies free and absolved from allegiance to the British crown, and the political connection between them and Great Britain was totally dissolved.

"The committee say the right of a State to govern itself, and the right of the people to abolish a government when it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted, were expressed when the colonies separated from the mother country and became free and independent States, the parties amending the constitution on the 17th of September, 1787, were the several sovereign States.

"On the 23d of May, 1788, South Carolina, by a Convention of her people, assented to the amended Constitution of the United States. The failure of one of the contracting parties to maintain constitutional obligations released the other. Fifteen of the northern states have deliberately refused for years to fulfil their constitutional obligations. We would refer to those states for a proof of this. When the Fourth Article of the Constitution was adopted, the greater number of the contracting parties held slaves. The hostility of the northern states to the institution of slavery have led them to disregard their constitutional obligations. The laws of the general government have ceased to effect the objects of the constitution. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa have enacted laws either nullifying the Constitution, or rendering useless all attempts to execute the acts of Congress. In many of these states fugitives held to service and to labor, have been claimed, but in none of them has the State government complied with the stipulation on this subject made in the constitution.

"In the formation of the Federal government, each state was recognized as an equal, the rights of property in slaves was recognized by giving all free persons distinct political rights; by giving them the right to represent, and burdening them with direct taxes for three-fifths of their slaves; by authorizing the importation of slaves for twenty years, and by stipulating for the rendition of fugitives from labor. The ends for which this government was instituted have been defeated, and the government itself made destructive by the action of the non-slaveholding states. Those states assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions. They denied the rights of property established in fifteen states and recognized by the Constitution. They have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; have permitted the open establishment of societies whose avowed object are to disturb the peace and prosperity of the citizens of other states; they have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes, and those who remain have been incited by emissaries, by books and pictures, to servile insurrection. Twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until they have secured the power of the common government. Observing the terms of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that article, establishing an executive department, means of subverting the constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all states north of that line have united in the elevation of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions

and purpose are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common government, because it is declared that a government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in course of ultimate extinction. The sectional combination for the subversion of the constitution has been aided in the states by elevating to citizenship persons, who, by the supreme law of the land, are incapable of becoming citizens, and their votes have been used to inaugurate the new policy hostile to the South and destructive to its peace and safety. On the 4th of March next this party will take possession of the government. It has been announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory; that the judicial tribunals will be made sectional; that war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States. The guarantee of the constitution will then no longer exist—equal rights of the states will be lost—the slaveholding states will no longer have the power of self-government or self-protection, and the Federal government have become their enemy. Sectional interests and animosity will deepen the irritation, and all hope of remedy is rendered vain by the fact that the public opinion of the North has invested the political error with the sanction of a more erroneous religious belief.

"We, therefore, the people of South Carolina, by our delegates, in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, have solemnly declared the Union heretofore existing between this state and the other states of North America, dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world as a free, sovereign, independent state, with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do; and for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance for protection on Divine Providence, we mutually pledge each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

CLOSING PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION.

Among the closing proceedings of the South Carolina Convention, were the following.

Resolved, That three commissioners be appointed to carry an authenticated copy of the ordinance of secession to Washington, to be laid before the President of the United States, with the request that the same shall be communicated to the Congress now in session, and said commissioners are hereby authorized and empowered to treat for the delivery of the forts, magazines and light-houses, and also for all other real estate, with the appurtenances thereto, within the geographical limits of South Carolina, and that the authority to treat upon these subjects be extended to—day of February, in the year of our Lord 1861; provided, in the meantime, the said forts, magazines, and other places are allowed to remain in the condition in which they may be at the adoption of this ordinance; and they shall be further empowered to treat upon the subject of the public debt, and for a proper division of all other property within the above, now held by the government of the United States, as the agent of the states now embrace in the said confederacy, until such time, as a new confederacy of states shall be formed, of which South Carolina shall be one.

COMMISSIONERS TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Memminger offered resolutions providing for the appointment of a commission to open negotiations with the federal Government, as follows:

Resolved, That a commission, consisting of three, be elected by ballot of the Convention, to proceed to Washington, to negotiate with the United States, and act through their general government, as to the proper arrangements and measures to be made or adopted in the existing relations of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between them.

Resolved, That persons be elected by this Convention, who shall be authorized to meet such deputies as may be appointed by any other slaveholding state for the purpose of organizing or forming a southern confederacy, with power to discuss and settle upon a constitution or plan of union, to be reported to said states for their ratification, amendment or rejection, and that the said deputies shall invite a meeting at Columbia, or such other place as may be agreed upon among the deputies of the several states, and shall report to the Convention such constitution, or articles, as may be agreed on by the said deputies.

INQUIRY CONCERNING LAWS.

Mr. Mayock introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee to consist of—members be appointed, whose duty it shall be to inquire and report to this Convention how much of the legislation of Congress would be gone facts abrogated, so far as this state is concerned, by the secession of this state from the national Union, and how much of it might remain of force, notwithstanding the act of secession.

FINAL PROCEEDINGS.

On Thursday the President appointed a committee of seven to draft a summary statement of the causes justifying the withdrawal of South Carolina from the Union.

After the passage of the ordinance of secession, the Convention ordered the document to be engrossed on parchment, under the direction of the Attorney-General, and signed by

the president and members, at Institute Hall, and that it be placed in the archives of the state.

Six and a half o'clock was agreed upon, as the hour to proceed to Institute Hall, for the purpose of signing it.

The following is a summary of the debate, on the passage of the ordinance:

Mr. Magrath. I think the special matter of the ordinance should be immediately considered. To my understanding there is no Collector of the Port nor Postmaster now within the limits of South Carolina. What you have done to-day has extinguished the authority of every man in South Carolina deriving authority from the general Government. I am in favor of this body making such provisional arrangements as may be necessary in the interval which may exist between this moment and the time when the legislature may act. I am not, however, to be implicated as sanctioning the idea that there is no lawful authority within the limits of the state except the general government.

Mr. Gregg—After South Carolina abrogated the Constitution of the United States, are its laws still in force? I think not. All the laws of Congress fall instantly to the ground on the act of secession.

Mr. Cheves—As an immense chasm will be made in the law, and as it is necessary to avoid inconvenience to the people, we must make some temporary arrangements to carry on the government.

Mr. Gregg—There is no law on the subject of the collection of the duties in South Carolina now. We have now accomplished the work after forty years.

Mr. Hayne—The Congress of the United States is no longer our government. It will be for our legislature to say what laws of the United States shall be continued and what not. The simple act of secession does not abrogate all the laws. We have a great many laws on our statute books which were passed by the Governor and the Privy Council.

Mr. Gregg—The President of the United States has thrown down the gauntlet in his Message. He has said that it was his duty to collect the revenue, and that he would do it. On one side, the federal government claims the right and declares its intention to execute the power of collecting revenue in our ports; on the other side, we have declared that we are free. I desire no compromise. It is necessary to maintain the fifteen to twenty per cent. duties imposed by the Congress of the United States? Should these duties continue to be levied our people will suffer a terrible calamity. For carrying the mails let the present contracts be assumed by South Carolina instead of the United States.

Mr. Rhett—This great revolution must go on with as little danger as possible to the country. By making the federal agents ours, the machinery will move on. The federal laws of taxation must not exist over us. I trust that the present system of taxation has fallen forever.

Mr. Barnwell—We have seceded from the United States, and established our independence. We can't allow the United States to exercise authority over us any more. Let postal convenience be sacrificed if necessary. There never was anything purchased worth having, unless it cost a sacrifice.

PROCLAMATION BY GOV. PICKENS.

CHARLESTON, Monday, Dec. 24.

Gov. PICKENS has, agreeably to the ordinance of secession, issued a proclamation, proclaiming to the world that South Carolina is, and has a right to be, a separate, sovereign, free and independent State, and as such has a right to levy war, conclude peace, negotiate treaties, leagues or confederations, and do all acts whatever that rightly appertain to a free and independent State.

THE CHARLESTON FORTS.

MEANS OF DEFENCE—BATTERIES ERECTED AGAINST FORT MOULTRIE, &c.

The Boston *Atlas* publishes the following private letter to a gentleman in that City, which gives an interesting account of affairs at Charleston. The writer was at one time connected with the Army, but resigned his commission some years since. He speaks, therefore, somewhat more as an expert than many who have written:

CHARLESTON, Dec. 13, 1860.

DEAR —: In my travel northward I arrived at this place three days ago, and have waited here partly with a hope to see my friend the Major, without being interfered with, by any of the spies and sneaks that so abound here, in these troublous times, and partly with a notion of seeing some of the military preparations that are going on.

Through the criminal neglect of the authorities at Washington the defence of the forts in the harbor will depend more on their intrinsic strength than on any power that can be brought against their assailants. Moultrie ought to be

garrisoned by 800 men, and Sumter by 500, and Castle Pinckney by at least 200. The fortifications at Charleston would entitle it, in case of a foreign war and a siege, in the dignity at least of a brigade post, and here we have now, with a prospect of isolation from the city, whence in war the soldiers would derive their principal succors, and with that city at war with the forts, a petty skeleton of a major's command—two incomplete companies. But Maj. Anderson, who won his brevet at the bloodiest battle ever fought, Molino del Ray, is determined that no court-martial shall ever censure him for cowardice or neglect of duty, and that the country shall say, had the President done his duty half as well as he, no blood would have dimmed the lustre of fraternal arms.

Fort Moultrie, the only garrisoned place, is situated on Sullivan's Island, and is an irregular fortification, of about the size and look of Fort Independence, but approaching nearer to the parallelogram in form. The four angles of this parallelogram are protected by out-works of the Redan form, and the whole fort is surrounded by a moat, which has been carefully cleared lately, and which is completely commanded by flanking guns on the out-works. Outside of the moat is a glacis, or sloping wall, of sand and loam, turfed over, and swept by the guns of the fort in every direction. The counter-scarp is defended from escalade by palisades, projecting downward, with sharpened ends. Over 150 men have been constantly engaged in the work of clearing the defences of the accumulated sand drift of years, since the secession epidemic began to spread, and it is just possible that these may turn out in the end to be enlisted men of engineers, and combatants in any fracas that may ensue. Sullivan's Island is said to be extensively mined, and it may happen, that in case of an assault, some gentlemen will find themselves traveling skyward under the propulsive force of gunpowder. Against this fort the Secessionists are erecting two batteries, one at the end of the island and the other on the mainland. I do not know of their having any heavy guns or material of siege, but have heard of mortars being ordered from New-York. Sales of arms to Secessionists would seem to be treason, but the mercantile conscience is elastic.

Fort Sumpter stands near the middle of the harbor, at the edge of the channel. This has no garrison, but has about 100 to 150 workmen engaged in putting the defences in order and mounting the guns (*enlisted men of engineers?*). This fort is said to contain an immense quantity of powder, shot and shell, mounts 140 cannon, many of them ten-inch shot, and shell guns of great range and accuracy, and could be defended by a handful of men against an army.

Castle Pinckney derives its chief importance, at this time, from the fact that the city may be shelled from it. In a strategic point of view, it is of less importance than the others, at the present crisis.

Another thing which makes me doubt the military ardor of the "cockades," is the fact that, up to this day, no gentleman has been found willing to be military engineer of the State, in its approaching contest. The batteries I have spoken of, are an amateur construction, built by ordinary laborers. And no systematic assault on Moultrie could be made without a well-constructed pontoon train, under the charge of an experienced military engineer. This can hardly yet be had; and so, in spite of the talk of the fire-eaters, I do not think that any immediate systematic assault on Fort Moultrie will be had.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA REPRESENTATIVES.

The South Carolina Delegation concluded this morning to send a communication to the Speaker, announcing their withdrawal, and not to appear on the floor, as they conceived themselves as having no right there. The communication created no impression, and received no notice beyond being read.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Speaker laid before the House a letter signed by Messrs. McQueen, Bonham, Boyce and Ashmore, of South Carolina, as follows:

SIR: We avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity since the official communication of the intelligence, of making known to your honorable body that the people of the State of South Carolina, in their sovereign capacity, have resumed the powers heretofore delegated by them to the Federal Government of the United States, and have thereby dissolved our connection with the House of Representatives. In taking leave of those with whom we have been associated in a common agency, we, as well as the people of our Commonwealth, desire to do so with a feeling of mutual regard and respect for each other—cherishing the hope that in our future relations we may better enjoy that peace and harmony essential to the happiness of a free and enlightened people.

JOHN McQUEEN,
M. L. BONHAM,
W. W. BOYCE,
J. D. ASHMORE.

To the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

The Speaker has directed the names of the South Caro-

lina members to be retained on the roll, thus not recognizing the conduct of their State as severing their connection with the House, as they themselves maintain.

The South Carolina delegation will leave to-morrow. The withdrawal speeches were omitted, on the suggestion that objection might be made to them.

There was no crowd present in the House in anticipation of any demonstration. The affair was very coolly viewed, creating no excitement or sensation.

"THE RULING PASSION STRONG IN DEATH."

The entire delegation remembered to draw full pay and took their proportion of documents; they also took seeds from the patent office—evidently determined to get all they could out of the Federal government.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA COMMISSIONERS TO WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Dec. 24.

There is good authority for saying that the South Carolina Commissioners left Charleston for this city this morning. The Republicans declare that an official reception of the South Carolina Commissioners will be treason on the part of the President, and his impeachment is being seriously considered.

ANOTHER LIFTING OF THE CLOUDS—FURTHER GLIMSES OF REPUBLICAN HUMILIATION.

We copy the following from the *New York Tribune* of Tuesday.

THE COMMITTEE OF THIRTEEN.

The committee of thirteen sat three hours to-day, and reached one important result. It has been constantly charged by the South, and was repeated in Mr. Nicholson's speech to-day, that the growing power of the Republican party threatened amendments of the Constitution by which their rights in the States would be impaired, if not destroyed. To meet this difficulty the Republicans conferred together, and submitted the following propositions through Mr. Seward, though they were drawn by Messrs. Grimes and Collamer:

First: No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere in any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to service or labor by the laws of such State.

This was carried by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Powell, Hunter, Crittenden, Seward, Douglas, Collamer, Wade, Bigler, Rice, Doolittle, and Grimes—11.
NAYS—Messrs. Davis and Toombs—2.

Second: The Fugitive Slave law of 1850 shall be so amended as to secure to the alleged fugitive a trial by jury.

Mr. Douglas proposed to amend by inserting "in the State from which the fugitive escaped." This was carried, and then the whole proposition was voted down by the Democrats, all the Republicans sustaining it.

Third: It shall be respectfully recommended to the several State Legislatures to review all of their laws affecting the rights of persons recently resident in other States, and to modify or repeal all such as shall contravene the provisions of the Constitution of the United States or of any of the laws made in pursuance thereof.

This was lost as follows:—

YEAS—Messrs. Grimes, Seward, Wade, Doolittle, Collamer and Crittenden—6.
NAYS—Messrs. Powell, Hunter, Toombs, Douglas, Davis, Bigler, and Rice—7.

The Southern men voted adversely upon the ground that, though it was not openly assigned, this proposition would affect their laws imprisoning colored seamen.

It will be seen that the extremists would not sustain the propositions intended to meet the very cases they had specifically charged against the North.

Mr. Toombs's resolutions were then called up, and four of them voted upon, Mr. Douglas refusing to go upon the record. They were then postponed till Wednesday, Mr. Toombs and the ultras resisting any delay. And, for the transparent object of using the action of the Committee to operate upon the pending elections for the Southern Conventions, Mr. Davis offered the following resolution, which lies over with the others:

That it shall be declared by amendment of the Constitution that property in Slaves, recognized as such by the local law of any of the States of the Union, shall stand on the same footing in all Constitutional and Federal relations as any other species of property as recognized; and, like other property, shall not be subject to be divested or impaired by the local law of any other State, either in escape thereto, or by the transit or sojourn of the owner therein. And in no case whatever shall such property be subject to be divested or impaired by any legislative act of the United States, or any of the Territories thereof.

It is to be noticed that, of the above names of Senators, Messrs. Seward, Collamer, Wade, Grimes, and Doolittle are Republicans.

The *Tribune* is evidently gratified and proud to announce that by the votes of these, and by their previous counsel and management, the vote of the Committee in favor of the first proposition was obtained; that the second and third were lost against their vote.

The first, is more than a mere acquiescence in that exposition of the Constitution that denies the authority of the Federal Government to abolish Slavery in the States. It is *equivalent* amending the Constitution so as to convey that authority. It

seems to be even more than a mere expression of opposition to such an amendment. At a time when other, and pro-slavery amendments are proposed, it seems to propose an amendment that shall forbid posterity to amend it in favor of securing the blessings of liberty more efficiently. At all events, it is a movement against liberty and in favor of slavery, for the evident object of propitiating and conciliating the pro-slavery seceders. It is a base, craven, truckling concession that would disgrace any slave that could have ever read the preamble to the Constitution, or who had ever heard it read. Of the spirit of liberty, there is less, in our Senators to-day, than in the slaves. The future of the slaves is more bright with promise than that of those taught in such a political school.

It is easy to see why Toombs and Davis voted in the negative. They knew and would not impliedly deny, that the Constitution as it is, conveys authority, without amending, to abolish slavery in the States. They were not to be caught with chaff, however obsequiously offered.

The second proposition, as amended, by the concurrence of the Republicans, surrendered the arrested fugitive slave, to a trial by jury, in a Slave State, even worse, if possible, than the Fugitive bill as it now stands. All arrested would be remanded, of course, unless forcibly rescued. It is well that the proposition as thus amended, was lost though by the votes of slaveholders, who disclaimed to admit to their victims the right to any jury trial at all; as well as for the reason suggested in The Tribune—Shall we understand that The Tribune and the Republican members of the Committee would have thought it a good stroke of policy to have secured immunity to our free colored seamen, by the unconditional rendition of every person claimed as a fugitive slave?

The whole transaction is painfully instructive, as showing into what hands the friends of freedom have committed its interests. Rather let us say, as showing that no men, who acknowledge the Constitutional right of slavery, anywhere, can present any obstacles to the claims of slavery, everywhere.

In this case, we have a fresh illustration of the fact that no statesman who will not maintain the Constitutional right of the Federal Government to protect the liberties of the people of the United States, can ever maintain the Constitutional right of a State Government to protect the liberties of the people of the State. "State Rights," can never be safe in such hands.

Excitement at Pittsburgh.

Great excitement was caused in Pittsburgh yesterday by the announcement that a number of heavy ordnance was to be shipped from the Alleghany Arsenal to points at the South where there were new forts not yet mounted, and where the secessionists could get them. The Government at Washington was called upon to countermand the order, as there were indications that the people would resist their removal.

SOUTH CAROLINA UNDER MOB RULE.

Caleb Cushing has returned here, and reports, substantially, that South Carolina is in the hands of a mob of Conventionists, for whose action nobody is responsible, and while the Executive Government is disposed to be conservative, nobody can tell what the mob may do.

J. A. P.
—Tribune.

Complicity of Pres. Buchanan with the Secessionists.

The following is from the official report of Mr. Miles' account to the S. Carolina Convention of his interview with the President in relation to the Charleston forts:

"I have not the remotest idea that the President of the United States will send any reinforcements to the forts in our harbor. I would say now, frankly—for I desire no concealment, and I do not think there should be at this time anything of the kind among the members of this great body—but with perfect frankness I will state here that I and some of my colleagues, in a conversation with the President of the United States, and subsequently in a written communication addressed to him at his request, we did say this, after speaking of the great excitement about the forts and preparations and rumors, 'Mr. President, it is our solemn conviction, if you attempt to send a solitary soldier down to these forts, the instant the intelligence reaches our people—and we shall take care that it does reach them—the forts will certainly be taken. We would urge them to do it, and would go home to help the work, because that would be a matter of self defence, and would be suicidal folly to allow Fort Sumpter or the others to be manned.' We further said, 'It is our conviction that the people of South Carolina would not touch these forts or do anything to molest its garrison prior to the meeting of the Convention. We were perfectly sure of that. We also hoped and believed that nothing would be done after that until we had had a formal adjustment with the federal government, or until those forts were demanded by the state. That was the substance of our communication. And I say again, that there is not an intention to reinforce the forts.

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, DEC. 24.

Governor Andrew, Senators Donnell and Trimmer, Representatives Burlingame and Tappan, and a number of other Sen-

ators and members of Congress, held a conference, yesterday, at the rooms of Francis P. Blair, Sr., and unanimously agreed that the integrity of the Union should be preserved, though it cost millions of lives.

Private information reports Gov. Hootch as making a great Union speech, in the face of threats, and eventually carrying with him the largest audience ever assembled in Texas. Prominent Republicans are moving here to secure Hootch a seat in the Cabinet, as he has indicated his willingness to accept, if necessary, to save the Union.

How Buchanan was Threatened.

Mr. Wm. Porter Miles, (member of Congress from the Charleston district,) made the following extraordinary statement:

"I have not the least idea that the President of the United States will send reinforcements here. In a conversation, and subsequently in a written communication, I know this to have been said to him, 'If you send a solitary soldier to these forts, the instant the intelligence reaches our people—and we will take care it does reach us in good season—the forts will be taken, because they are necessary to our self-preservation.' Mr. Miles spoke about the repairs of Fort Sumpter, and mentioned the cause of the resignation of Secretary Cass. Captain Anderson is needful of troops. He (Miles) felt the necessity of being watchful, lest a few Carolinians should surprise the fort in a night. Let us wait awhile, as all the repairs will be to our advantage."

THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION.

EIGHTH DAY.

CHARLESTON, Dec. 25, 1860.

The Convention met at noon, Mr. Jamison in the chair.

Prayer was offered.

The Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States of North America, reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, first, That the Convention appoint commissioners to proceed to each slaveholding State that may assemble in convention for the purpose of laying before them the ordinance of secession, and respectfully to invite their co-operation in forming a Southern Confederacy.

Second, that our commissioners be authorized to submit the federal constitution as the basis for a provisional government for such States as shall have withdrawn from the connection with the government of the United States of North America.

Third, That said Commissioners be authorized to invite seceding States to meet in convention at such a time and place as may be agreed upon, for the purpose of forming a permanent government for these States.

The President read the following communication:

To the President and Delegates of the Convention of the Independent State of South Carolina:

Gentlemen—I have this moment been informed that you did me the honor, by resolution, to invite me to a seat on the floor of the Convention. I am wanting in language, gentlemen, to express my feelings, which this very unexpected courtesy at your hands has given rise to. In the course of my life, now nearly half a century—a life not entirely devoid of incidents calculated to inspire a landable, manly pride—I have never been honored with a seat with those smarting under the wrongs inflicted by the leaders of a perverted government, and who have, with unanimity unparalleled, broken the link with the faithless confederacy. You are engaged in a high and laudable aim—aye, the high and holy purpose of devising a government which shall offer the greatest liberty consistent with the rights, liberties, and happiness of the good. In every particular your ordinance is in good taste, to the point, and covers the whole ground. Permit me to assure you, gentlemen, that the gallant little State of Florida will follow your lead. On motion of her Convention, Florida will, as certain as anything in the future can be, wheel into line with the gallant old Palmetto State. We are identified with the same interests, and there is a deep determination not to submit to black republican rule. Your common destiny must become that of others.

I regret exceedingly that urgent official duty, which I cannot postpone, will deprive me of the pleasure of accepting your kindly courtesy.

With the tender of my sincere thanks for the honor conferred upon me, I am, gentlemen,

Very respectfully your obedient servant, M. S. PERRY.

Mr. Perin offered a resolution for a recess from to-morrow till the 16th proximo. Lost.

Mr. Manigault's resolution, instructing the Governor to make forthwith all preparations which may be needed to assert by force the right and jurisdiction of South Carolina in its territory, was lost.

Family Miscellany.

For the Principia.

"ABIDE IN ME."—John iv, 4-7.

"Abide in me," the Savior saith,

"So shall your fruit abound."

"And works of love, of hope, and faith

"In all your walks be found.

"Ye are the branches, I the vine;

"Your nutriment supply.

"Cut off from me, ye soon decline,

"Ye wither up and die.

"Abide in me, and I in you,

"Ye then must needs be mine,

"And all that's good, and right, and true,

"Shall in you meet and shine.

"Abide in me, your life, your light,

"My life and light inhale,

"Your pathway, then, shall all be bright,

"Through earth's thickshaded vale.

"Abide in me, and in your heart,

"O, let my word abide,

"And safe from every fiery dart,

"Be shelter'd by my side."

Savior, we hear thy gracious voice,
To thee, to thee we come;
Our hiding place, our rest, our choice,
Our everlasting home.

W. N.

WISDOM AND CUNNING.

Prov. xiv, 4.

The wisdom of the prudent is to shew
The truth, and by the truth direct his way,
But fools their folly show, and win defeat,
By double dealing, craft, and foul deceit.

W. N.

CAUSES AND CURE OF POVERTY.

NUMBER XII.

FLOUR SPECULATION, OR GAMBLING WITH BARRELS OF FLOUR.

We have insisted that "speculation" is nothing essentially different from gambling. To make this point clear, we now present a case in which it takes pretty much the same form, the main difference being that the game instead of being played with dice or cards is played with barrels of flour. There may be more of chance and less of skill, in the flour game, though some skill may be displayed in conjecturing the future price of flour, so as to play the game successfully, and still more in so managing and arranging the moves as to produce the desired changes in the price.

Flour, in barrels of uniform weight and quality, stamped "superfine" by the duly authorized inspector, becomes a known quantity, representing a fixed value, (except as the price varies) equally appreciable and as well understood as the silver dollar. The only thing to be varied is the number of dollars that shall go to purchase the barrel of flour.

Promissory notes are exchanged between the parties—the one promising so many barrels of flour—the other promising so many dollars, both payable at some future day agreed upon between them—the transaction being made when the one party has no flour and knows not where it is to come from, nor when, how, or of whom he is to get it, or at what price, the other being, perhaps, equally ignorant as to where, of whom, or on what terms, he shall get hold of his money.

We once resided for a year or two in a city of which flour was the principal article of purchase from the country lying back of it, for the use, mainly, of export, coast-wise or abroad, or for sale to those who wished to ship it for exportation. Besides the regular dealers in flour, (some of them dealing exclusively in that article, some connecting it with the sale of other produce and foreign merchandise) there were many mere nominal flour dealers who could properly be called by no other name than flour speculators or flour gamblers, the sum total of whose operations added nothing to the facilities of legitimate interchange or commerce, but seriously impeded it, and rendered it hazardous for merchants, properly so called, to deal in the article.

To make the matter worse, there were few, even among the respectable merchants who did not, at times, dabble more or less, in this gambling process, and sometimes to a ruinous extent; always at an imprudent hazard.

A man having a mere office or counting room, without accommodations for storing twenty barrels of flour would, in this way, buy and sell scores of thousands of barrels of flour yearly, and perhaps without seeing, or in reality, possessing five hundred barrels of matter-of-fact flour, in all that time. They are continually dealing with each other in this imaginary merchandise, sometimes making a profit, and sometimes losing, as the chances may be.

One of these flour gamblers goes to a merchant and says to him, "I want to sell you five hundred barrels of flour, this morning, deliverable in sixty days, for your note payable at the same time. What will you give me?" "I don't know, what will you take?" A price is fixed upon, and the papers are exchanged. A respectable commission merchant will make thirty such purchases, perhaps, in as many days, for larger or smaller quantities of flour. At length he receives an order for a quantity, to load a vessel. Or a ship master calls upon him to purchase a cargo, or to engage his services, on a commission, to purchase for him. The merchant looks over his file of flour notes, sees how much he has due him and from whom—makes an offer, clenches a bargain, and hands his customer an order on Mr. A, for so many barrels, on Mr. C. for so many, on Mr. D. for so many, and so on. The purchaser presents his orders, when, lo! instead of being shown the flour, he is presented with a new batch of orders, on E, and

E., and G., and starts off again, with similar success. He runs all day, without getting sight of a barrel of flour, and goes on board of his vessel, or to his boarding house or to his hotel, quite "fagged out" and ill-humored. Early next morning he engages a cartman to load his vessel with flour, hands him his orders, and quietly sits down to watch the result. After a day or two more, the cartman returns with flour, and it is well if the process of carting is not repeatedly suspended, for want of flour, several times, before the loading of the vessel is completed. We have known instances in which, after several exchanges of orders, down half the letters of the alphabet of names, the last order of the series comes back again to Mr. A., who gave the first order, and he draws again on some other flour debtor, or if he has none, is driven out to purchase from some matter-of-fact owner of flour, at whatever price he can. There may be flour notes afloat in town, to the amount of an hundred thousand barrels, when not a thousand real barrels of flour are to be found in the market. Then when the real flour begins to come in, from the country, there is a scramble to get hold of it; up go the prices, and down go a batch of flour gamblers into bankruptcy, to pay 20 cents on the dollar, and start the same race again. A necessary re-action brings down the prices, as much below the natural level, as it had previously risen above it, to the ruin perhaps, of as many more as had been made bankrupt by the high prices. After three or four failures of this kind, the flour gambler loses credit, and caste, sinks into a loafer, his family suffers, and he ends his life in poverty, if not in vice.

No small portion of the "black-leg" gentry that infest the Southern flour cities, commenced their downward career as flour gamblers. Yet the temptation to commence gambling in flour, are insidious, and well educated persons slide into it, as imperceptibly as into moderate drinking. Business men, of all sorts, in these cities, find it a convenient way, when in a pinch for money, to obtain it by resorting to the sale of flour, whether they are dealers in the article or no. All they have to do is to sell a hundred barrels of flour at some price, to somebody whose note is good, to be delivered sixty days hence, and then go into bank, or to a broker, and get the note shaved, at some rate. Then he is in funds again, until it becomes necessary to repeat the operation, and so on, till the final result is reached, which is easily foreseen.

We have dwelt more minutely on the various ways and workings of the speculating mania, in order that its moral and mercantile identity with other gambling may clearly appear. We regard it the great bane and disgrace of commerce, the corrupter of morals, and the cause, directly and indirectly, of much of the poverty and destitution seen in our cities.

And we desire, by the exhibition of these details, to fix in the minds of our readers, especially the young, a deep impression that no business is safe and prudent that is not innocent, that no business is innocent that is not useful to the community at large, and beneficial to all the parties concerned in it or affected by it. Make it a fixed rule, never to engage in any business that does not benefit others as well as yourself. Any other business, however profitable it may appear at first, will be likely to overwhelm you in poverty, in the end. It is a law of nature's God that he who undertakes to enrich himself, at the expense of his neighbor, shall find himself caught in his own snare, and cheated at his own game.

For the Principia.

A STORY FOR THE LITTLE FOLKS.

Oh Nellie, Charley, Willie and Mary, look here, dear children, while I tell you that story about my old home. About one hundred and fifty years ago, Deacon Timothy T— left the village of W— and went westward into the forests to seek a new home for himself and family. After finding a desirable location, he pitched his tent, commenced cutting away the trees, and prepared a place to live, and called his new home C—. As soon as he could, he erected a large two story house, large enough for a small army of little children. In it he placed a chimney twelve feet square, and in that chimney two large ovens; and oh, it would make your eyes sparkle with wonder and delight, if you could see all the baked Turkeys, and Geese, and chickens, and Pigs, and puddings, and pies, and cakes, and other good things which have come forth from those old ovens.

I tell you, dear children, I can think just how they looked, and tasted too; they were capital. Nobody can bake like our mothers and grandmothers.

In this house, Deacon T— spent the remainder of his days, and left it to his sons, then his grand children occupied it, then his great grand children, then his great great grand children occupied it.

For about one hundred and twenty-five years, it withstood the wintry blasts, and howling winds that raged around, until it bore the marks of age, and seemed to say, "I am passing away." Finally, about twenty-five years since, the flames laid it low. Yet there is a strange interest lingering around that dear old home.

There has been heard the innocent prattle and glee of the children of many generations. There they have grown to man and womanhood. There they have talked, and sung, and played, and worshipped their great Creator too. But now they are all gone. Not one of them is to be found at that dear old home. Most of them have gone to that world from whence no traveler ever returns. If I listen, I hear them not, if I call, they answer me never; but a silent stillness reigns around that sacred spot. Again I cry, where are all these bright eyed little children, that once made that a bright and joyous home? Most of those sparkling eyes have looked upon this world for the last time, and those little hearts beat no more; they sleep the sleep of death. And if they are resting with Jesus, then all is well with them, and we may go home to meet them in the promised land, where we shall die no more, forever. Blessed thought, dear children; let us be ready to go, when the Master shall call.

Now, dear children, I must pause, but with Brother Goodell's permission, I will tell you something further, at another time.

DEACON T.

CHECKING PERSPIRATION.

A Boston merchant, in "lending a hand" on board of one of his ships, on a windy day, found himself, at the end of an hour and a half, pretty well exhausted and perspiring freely. He sat down to rest. The cool wind from the sea was delightful, and engaging in conversation, time passed faster than he was aware of. In attempting to rise, he found he was unable to do so, without assistance. He was taken home and put to bed, where he remained two years, and for a long time afterwards could only hobble about with the aid of a crutch. Less exposures than this have, in constitutions not so vigorous, resulted in inflammation of the lungs, "pneumonia," ending in death in less than a week, or causing tedious rheumatism, to be a source of torture for a lifetime. Multitudes of lives would be saved every year, and an incalculable amount of human suffering would be prevented if parents would begin to explain to their children at the age of three or four years, the danger which attends cooling off too quickly after exercise, and the importance of not standing still after exercise, or work, or play, or of remaining exposed to a wind, or of sitting at open window or door, or of pulling off any garment, even the hat or bonnet, while in a heat. It should be remembered by all, that a cold never comes without a cause, and that in four times out of five, it is the result of leaving off exercise too suddenly, or of remaining still in the wind, or in a cooler atmosphere than that in which the exercise has been taken.

The colder the weather, the more need is there, in coming into the house, to keep on all the clothing, except India-rubbers or damp shoes, for several minutes afterwards. Very few rooms are heated higher than sixty-five degrees when the thermometer is within twenty degrees of zero, while the temperature of the body is always at ninety-eight in health; so that if a man comes into a room which is thirty degrees colder than his body, he will rapidly cool off, too much so, often, even if the external clothing is not removed.

It is not necessary that the perspiration be visible; any exercise which excites the circulation beyond what is natural causes a proportional increase of perspiration, the sudden checking of which induces dangerous diseases, and certain death, every day.—*Half's Journal of Health.*

The above is true and important. We will add that the danger of cooling off too rapidly, is as great in hot weather and in tropical climates, as it is in Winter, and in cold latitudes.

The fatal fevers of hot climates, are chiefly owing to this cause. We learned this, in the East Indies, more than forty years ago. The average temperature at Batavia, on Java, we found to be upwards of ninety degrees. And then, the first time, we learned the necessity of wearing flannel next to the skin, to prevent checking perspiration too suddenly. No European or American resident there, can dispense with them. No one walks in the sunshine. All ride in carriages, and raise an umbrella on alighting, before entering their hotels. And then, the first thing is to put on a thick coat, worn at no other time, and walk the room separately for some minutes, to prevent too sudden a check to the perspiration. Strangers neglecting this precaution commonly fall into a fever, and often die in less than ten days.—*EDITOR PRINCIPIA.*

HOME CONVERSATION.

Children hunger perpetually for new ideas, and the most pleasant way of reception is by the voice and the ear, not the eye and the printed page. The one mode is natural, the other artificial. Who would not rather listen than read? We not unfrequently pass by, in the papers, a full report of a lecture, and then go and pay our money to hear the same words uttered. An audience will listen closely from beginning to the end of an address, which not one in twenty of those present would read with the same attention. This is emphatically true of children. They will learn with pleasure from the lips of parents what they deem it drudgery to study in the books; and even if they have the misfortune to be deprived of the educational advantages which they desire, they cannot fail to grow up intelligent if they enjoy childhood and youth the privilege of listening daily to the conversation of intelligent people. Let parents, then, talk much and talk well, at home. A father who is habitually silent in his own house may, in many respects, be a wise man, but he is not wise in his silence. We sometimes see parents who are the life of every company which they enter, dull, silent, uninteresting, at home among their children. They have not mental activity and mental stores sufficient for both, let them first provide for their own household. Ireland exports beef and wheat and lives on potatoes; and the same fare as poorly who reserve their social charms for companies abroad, and keep their dullness for home consumption. It is better to instruct children and make them happy at home, than it is to charm strangers, or amuse friends. A silent house is a dull place for young people, a place from which they will escape, if they can. They will talk or think of being "shut up" there; and the youth who does not love home is in danger. Make home, then, a cheerful and pleasant spot. Light it up with cheerful, instructive conversation. Father, mother, talk your best, at home.

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